the anarchist RM

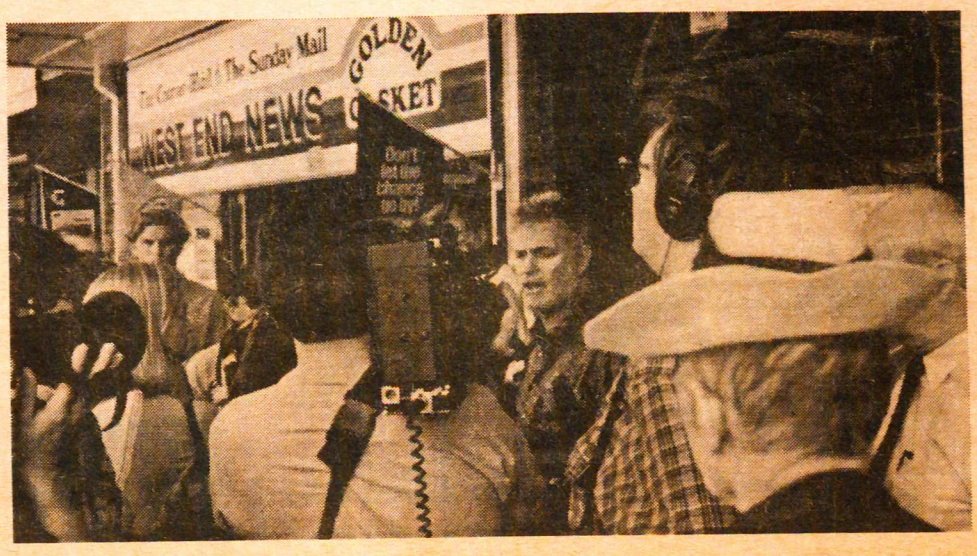
Volume 1 Number 2

Be Impossible, Demand The Realities -

BAN CENSORSHIP, NOT POT!

Whether we like it or not politics in the nineties is a media circus. We don't just have pickets and demo's that are meaningful to ourselves and the immediate first hand public. To promote an issue it must be presented in a digestible form which can be accepted by the media. Even when we plan our presentation, we never really know how we will be portrayed, but if we don't take the media into consideration we will be lucky if our voice is heard by anyone but a handful of witnesses.

This particular picket existed on two levels. On one level it was a joyous and binding act of solidarity with West End bookseller and Libertarian Socialist Brian Laver. On the other level it was something akin to the filming of a Hollywood Western of the Brave Man who stood alone against those who would oppress the would be Hemp farmers of Queensland, particularly those who did not already know how to grow marijuana. Brian was selling the banned December issue No.79 of the Simply Living Magazine at Emma's book store in Vulture St, West End. He had been warned by the Department of Consumer Affairs that he could face a fine of up to $18,000 and/or one year's jail.



BRIAN FEEDS THE CHOOKS

This did not perturb Brian Laver because he had already been imprisoned in Queensland some nine times. He had participated in the Prague resistance to the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, as well as the Anti-Vietnam War Movement.

The media understood his heroism, it was his intellectualism that did not fit into their allocated thirty second time slot. He wanted to explain that despite the fact he supported the legalisation of marijuana, it was free speech and freedom of the press that had made him risk his business. The media was not particularly interested in the History of his bookshop or how he had fought similar acts of censorship in the past. Brian's vision of a ban on all censorship was considered too extreme for the public to accept. Their orientation was that a nice respectable, profitable and mainstream magazine had been outlawed by the Deputy Premier of Queensland Mr Tom Burns. The distribution of a popular magazine had been ground to a halt as an exercise in political discipline. Simply Living often ran articles on pot, why was this one any different? The marijuana debate had already shown itself to be a marketable product, why interfere with business?

The media has its own solidarity and it was showing it towards Simply Living.

The "Easy Guide to Growing Dope" edition of Simply Living magazine had been freely available two weeks before being banned and it was enjoying its usual sales. Then came the Queensland ban on the 2nd of December and the media hype surrounding it. By the 13th of December the magazine had become a refused classification publication for the ACT, Victoria and the Northern Territory. restricted category was placed on its sale in New South Wales and South Australia.

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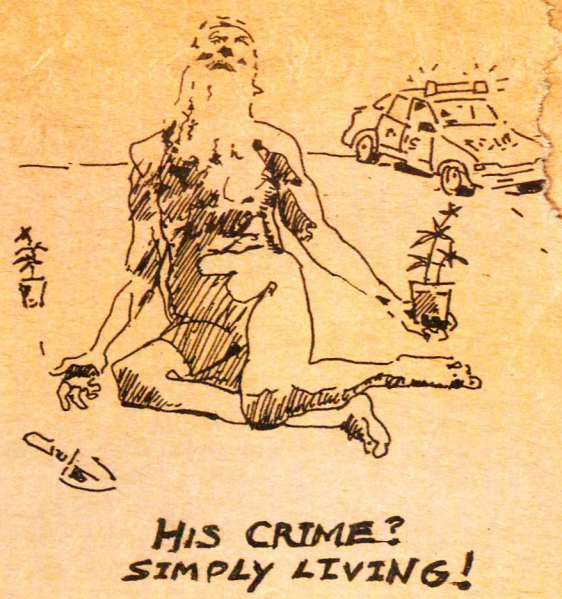

FILTH IS FILTH, EVEN IF IT'S GREEN!

In a move that is almost certain to further the splits within the Green Party, Queensland Greens have endorsed a member of the Queensland Police Service as a candidate in the state election next year. Laurelle Saunders is no ordinary copper; she has been imprisoned while on attempted murder charges, been exonerated and reinstated (to a lower, uniformed rank) and has taken the Police Service to the Criminal Justice Commission over alleged mistreatment and false imprisonment.

The CJC inquiry heard evidence about planting and tampering of tapes, the stealing of firearms, and of the affair between Saunders and her superior Inspector Lobegeiger. It heard evidence of "warning" shots fired by both Lobegeiger and Saunders on a farm near Gatton outside Brisbane when Saunders was snooping around uninvited and Lobegeiger was with another woman.

The central figure of the CJC inquiry other than Saunders was Dodd, a crim and police informant who Saunders had cultivated. Dodd himself claimed he had been set up on a firearm charge after years of being clean which is why he was looking for favours from the police. Saunders was friendly with another man called Coomer who was a keen shooter. After being at the shooting range together, they went to a restaurant at Mt Gravatt. While they were in the restaurant Coomer's car was broken into and several guns were stolen.

Some of the guns later turned up in an abandoned stolen car. Dodd was caught in possession of a .22 pistol. He was the one who said Saunders had set the whole job up. He also told police about Saunders' plans to kill Lobegeiger. She was also supposed to have been setting up a payroll job.

This is where the first of the tapes comes in. Dodd produced it on about the third go. He was in jail on remand at the time, but he was allowed out on leave for the purpose of getting it. The tape had Dodd talking to Saunders, with Saunders telling all about the guns, Lobegeiger, etc.

This tape was a total fabrication. Both Dodd and a woman named Blanche gave evidence that they were the voices on the tape.

Despite this obvious setup the inquiry didn't go too well for Laurelle Saunders. Dodd still maintained that everything else that he had said was true, and that the tape was a recreation of real conversations. The evidence about the firing of shots at Gatton didn't go too well for Saunders. There was some evidence of Saunders coaching other people who were there to lie about it on oath. Also the inquiry heard evidence about Saunders contacting Lobegeiger on the Gold Coast and spending the night with him when she was initially out on bail. This was in clear breach of her bail conditions, which was why she was jailed. She was never convicted, the case collapsed when it came to court. The only time she spent in jail was on remand.

The CJC has just finished a further inquiry

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BAN CENSORSHIP, NOT POT!

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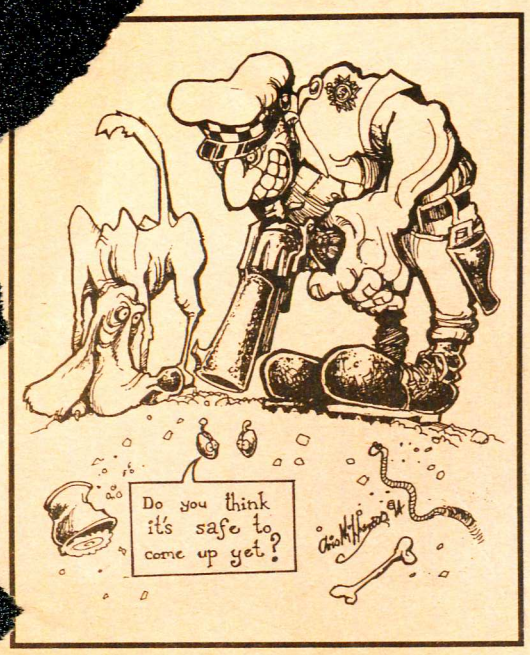


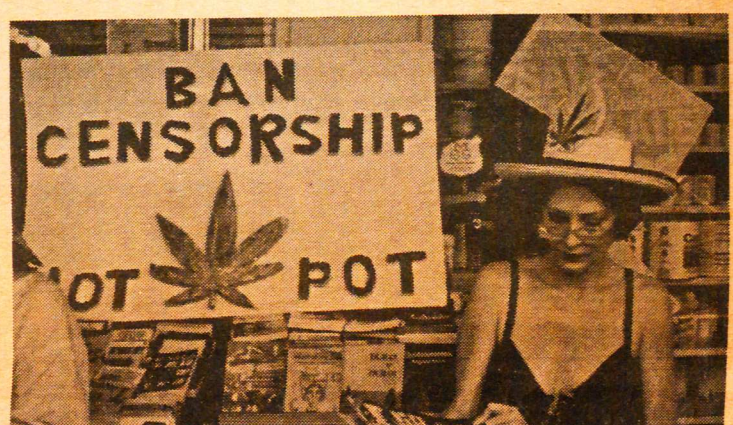
because this was the only way such absurdity could be translated. Even though the magazine was illegal to sell it was not illegal for us to possess. There was a general agreement that the ban had backfired because the publicity generated for the publication had been enormous.

I'm glad that there were more journalists than protesters crammed into the tiny book store and flowing out onto the crowded suburban pavement. It meant that Brian got away with it. It meant that the police van that pulled up outside the bookshop and the plain clothes officers near by did not charge him. I don't think they wanted to be the bad guys on TV, which suits me fine. I like to see Anarchists get away with it. It means we've won.

HEMP or Help End Marijuana Prohibition has been selling a copy of the same article with permission from the authors Maccizza Macpherson and Emmett Grogan. It is called "Banned, The Story Behind the Simply Living Ban", and has been produced by John Jiggens, the man who openly smoked pot outside Parliament House without getting arrested. HEMP can legally sell the same article unless it too is banned which we hope it will because it will increase sales. There was also talk of banning a marijuana card game called Grass but I'm glad that it didn't get banned because I consider the game to be pro-prohibitionist propaganda. It was written by a retired New York cop.

I hope my play "Don't Mention The Black Spray Painted Chicken Wire" gets banned. And always remember the chooks and include them in your demonstration because just as the plants need feeding the chooks do too.

Bernadette le Goullon



BERNADETTE BUYS A COPY OF HER FAVOURITE MAGAZINE

ian had his picket the next day while it as still hot news but collectors had had me to stock pile the magazine. One journalist asked me if I had bought a copy because it would be a valuable edition. My response was that it was my favourite magazine.

rush for sales meant that the magazine s sold out in about five minutes, so the mera crews got us to buy the same magazines again and again. In short it was a mad chaotic media circus with stoned hippies, emp fairies and balloon carrying protesters. his was the way it appeared in the media

EDITORIAL

Our second edition of the anarchist comes out immediately before the Visions of Freedom National Anarchist conference in Sydney. The program is in the middle of this paper.

This will be the biggest gathering of anarchists since the National Conference in Melbourne in 1986. Looking forward to such a get together brings mixed feelings, meeting old friends in struggle that one seldom sees, making new friends and on the other hand sometimes reopening old schisms and bitter disagreements.

We are very lucky to have Noam Chomsky as the keynote speaker at the conference. No doubt there will be plenty of snide asides about anarchist stars and leaders. But just by coming Chomsky is the catalyst to a much bigger, more dynamic conference than it would have been without him there. Where that leads to is up to all of us who attend the conference.

Just looking at the different contributions to this edition is enough to show how wide the differences are between people who agree on a basic no boss, pro-freedom outlook on life. The inclusion of Ciaron O'Reilly's article was accompanied by some heated debate as to whether it really is possible to be both a Christian and an anarchist.

If your article didn't make it in please don't be offended. We were simply defeated by time and space.

And now to finish by offending almost everybody. Is ous politics relevant to the wider community, or is it just a sub-cultural ghetto of social smugness without any serious committment to change, including ourselves? Purist positions and detached inaction have a way of going hand in hand.

Write to us to show us the error of our ways at:-

the anarchist
po box 332 albert st
brisbane australia 4002
or ring (07) 844 7499
theanarc.@byteback.apana.org.au

FILTH IS FILTH, EVEN IF IT'S GREEN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

into the second tape. At the inquiry Saunders admitted it was her and Lobegeiger on the tape, and she admitted that she had taped some of her phone conversations with him. But she also said that the tape had been edited or doctored in some way.

The tape has Saunders talking to Lobegeiger about a letter she sent him while on bail. She wants to know if he has handed it in to the department. She also says things like "Listen, can we discuss us", and "Can I call you back?".

The further inquiry was to establish whether the tape given in evidence was obtained by illegal bugging, and whether it had been doctored. The CJC found that it was a second generation copy of a tape made by Saunders, with some dub editing in the copy, but that there was no editing in the key conversation between Saunders and Lobegeiger.

The tape was a key piece of evidence with respect to Saunders' false imprisonment, since it clearly shows her breaching her bail conditions.

All this has been an ongoing melodrama here in Queensland that's been running almost as long as Days of Our Lives. There is no doubt that Saunders was set up on fabricated evidence. But there was enough evidence at the inquiry to show that Saunders was more than a little devious herself.

On top of all this melodrama comes her candidacy for the Greens. Guess what her main campaign position will be; yep, more police on the streets. Maybe they'll be riding pushbikes and cracking down on litterers but they will still be part of the ongoing oppression of poor people, particularly the Murris.

Drew Hutton, de facto leader of the Queensland Greens (they rotate party positions but he is still getting the overwhelming majority of media coverage) stated that Saunders knows all about fighting big government as she has been harassed by both National and ALP figures. Saunders, herself a former member of the Nationals, and Hutton as well, still have a lot to learn about social justice if they think that more filth on the streets will result in anything but more deaths in custody.

The Greens are busy attempting to get more promises out of the ALP (ho hum). They are not just entering the mainstream, they are leaping in over their collective heads. They are in fact making it easier for ecocide to continue as the earth-fuckers can point to their pathetic efforts to reform capitalism and say, "See, the system works, we can even have Green (sic) police running for parliament!". We shouldn't be surprised at this. Hutton, a former Libertarian Socialist luminary, has always been big on academic rhetoric.

One of the things that came up during the inquiry but was suppressed was plans by Saunders with a Special Branch cop Barry Krosch to set up a group of Murri militants on firearms charges. This was in the period leading up to the Commonwealth Games in 1982. There was also talk of setting up the Ananda Marga in the same way. These discussions were recorded in one of Saunders' notebooks. Clearly she was totally steeped in the culture of "dropping a brick" herself.

Some of us also remember her enthusiastic involvement with Task Force during the right to march demonstrations of the late seventies.

This is the kind of person the Green Party is putting forward as a guiding light on criminal law and the police.

The Circle A Gang.

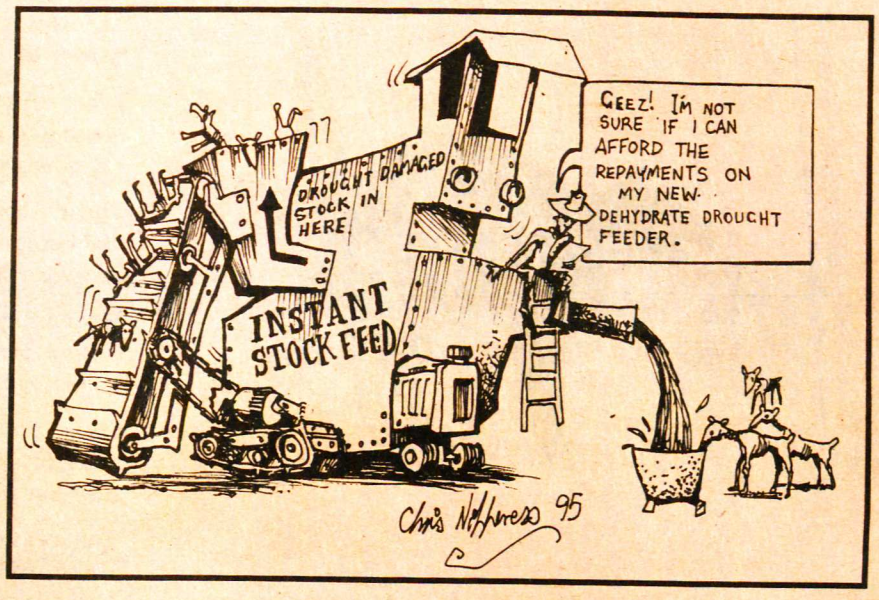
TROUBLE DOWN ON THE FARM

MONOCULTURE GOOD, DIVERSITY BAD

Reflecting on the drought that has affected rural Australia (mostly Queensland and New South Wales) over the past four (4) years, has prompted me as an environmental scientist and social ecologist to analyse and identify the problems facing agriculture in this country. One could telescope this further onto a global scale, as there are interlocking and common themes - Third World Debt, the North - South Divide; population growth; the distribution of goods and services; who owns and controls the means of production; the role of capital (government, banks and lending institutions); habitat loss; species loss; nature conservation; the growth of agribusiness, etc. Each one a topic in themselves.

The number of farms in Australia is shrinking and the size of farms is increasing. The focus then is on concentration of land holdings (by wealthy individuals, banks, lending institutions and large pastoral companies) and the trend is towards agribusiness -vast monocultures (i.e. wheat, wool, beef, etc) whose main aim is profit not feeding people. With a monoculture, there is enormous pressure on the environment - more land is cleared to grow more crops - all competing for the same nutrients or pasture. Soil loss, nutrient loss and land degradation follow. The solution is to put in more fertiliser and more chemicals, even though the long term effect is to make the land increasingly difficult to farm (50% of Australian farmland has been degraded) and sustain.

These additional inputs (plant, fuel, seed, machinery, chemicals, fertilisers) are capital intensive. The farmers are on a treadmill to keep pace. They borrow massively and when there is a drought or some other natural catastrophe (ironically and tragically, exacerbated by traditional farm practices - loss of surface cover leads to wind and water erosion; loss of tree cover alters the watertable level, micro-climate and soil nutrient status; which affects the biota equilibria (insects, soil bacteria, microfauna) and the farmers are in trouble (all their eggs in one basket).


DROUGHT DAMAGED STOCK IN HERE
INSTANT STOCK FEED
GEEZ! IM NOT SURE IF I CAN AFFORD THE REPAYMENTS ON MY NEW DEHYDRATE DROUCHT FEEDER.
Chris Mathews 95

This boom-and-bust cycle mentality has for too long dominated Australia's economic performance. We "rode on the sheep's back" sold any mineral we could dig up, and flogged any other commodity - subject to the vagaries of the stock market. Due to the narrowness of our manufacturing base historically, we then import a lot of finished goods; the result, spiralling national debt and a trade imbalance.

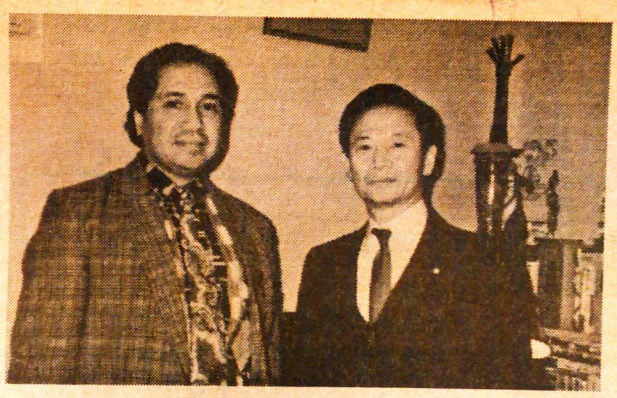
I would argue that alternatives do exist. Australia could be largely self-sufficient in food and energy. Modern agriculture involves a lot of energy inputs, pollution and inefficiencies - chemicals, fuel, fertilisers, long-distance transport, handling, processing and packaging, etc., which could be largely done away with.

Decentralised farming (feeding local communities, including urban farms); permaculture and organic growing (clean food); alternative energy use (Australia has an abundance of the sun's energy - in Queensland only 5% of houses have solar hot water heaters - domestic hot water accounts for 60% of current energy use); recycling, re-using and reducing; alternative transport; energy-efficient house design (build your own or modify the existing design); buy land (and rehabilitate it); work less and become multi-skilled (grow your own food), exchange skills, etc) - these are some of the solutions to lessen our impact on the environment.

We need to manage, design and use nature intelligently and wisely for future sustainability. We need creative solutions to counter the emphasis on short-term profits before people's basic needs and done in a non-hierarchical, democratic and co-operative manner. For a sane and clean world, we can't rely on governments, technological fixes, or the market to solve problems. We need to control our own lives, through alternative structures and institutions - grassroots democracy not ideology or growth for growth's sake.

ROSS MATHERS

AGIO PERIERA AND ETRA WINS YOKO TADA HUMAN RUGHTS AWARD



Agio Periera with Tsasuki Eda, a member of the Diet

The Yoko Tada Foundation for Human Rights of Japan presented one of their three Awards for Human Rights for 1994 to Agio Pereira.
The Yoko Tada Foundation has acknowledged Agio Pereira's work, through the East Timor Relief Foundation (ETRA), for his people in their struggle for self determination and freedom. He is the Executive Officer of ETRA, the main non-governmental aid organisation (NGO) in Australia focussing upon East Timor.
Agio Pereira was invited to Japan and presented with this prestigious Award on 17 December 1994.
Two other key members of ETRA, Ines Almeida and Ceu Brites, recently returned from a successful three-week speaking tour of Japan. (This being the ninth year that the human rights and social justice movements in Japan have organised speaking tours of East Timor activists; Agio Pereira himself undertook such a tour as a musician, in 1991.)
While Ines Almeida and Ceu Brites' tour gained considerable attention and publicity in Japan, it has been largely unheralded and unnoticed here in Australia.
The Australian East Timor Association (AETA) would like to
(a) wholeheartedly support the Yoko Tada Foundation in their choice of Agio Pereira and ETRA, and
(b) congratulate Agio Pereira and ETRA - it is through the work of Agio Pereira, ETRA, and the East Timorese people - their courage and resilience - that East Timor will be free.

Agio and ETRA can be contacted at ph: 02 891 5861
AETA can be contacted
c/o its Convenor, Gil Scrine at ph: 716 6354

HOLUS BOLUS ANARCHIST BOOKSTORE

Holus Bolus is a collectively organised, non-profit anarchist bookstore, incorporating a reading area/ meeting space and computer terminal providing public access to the BYTE B.A.C.K. bulletin board,which is operated by the Brisbane Anarchist Computer Kollective (BACK).

The bookshop is run by the Holus Bolus collective,which anyone may join, (you don't have to work in the shop to be involved in the shop). Collective meetings are held every second Wednesday at 7:00pm.

We are not aiming to build a formal "mass" organisation.We strongly reject the notion that any particular doctrinaire philosophy, dogma,vanguard or elite can lead us to the kind of creative, diverse freedom we seek. Instead we prefer to encourage interest in and especially the practice of anarchist ideas in people's everyday lives,their personal relationships and in political action/social struggle.

Holus Bolus has been open since the 1st of May 1993 and since then interest, stock and the number of people involved in the shop has steadily grown. And we hope it continues to do so, so that we can continue to improve the ways in which we make anarchist propaganda and other related literature (as well as records, t-shirts, patches,badges etc.)available as cheaply as possible to everyone.

For the first time ever we have a mail order catalogue available. If you would like a copy just contact us.

ADDRESS: 190 Boundary St West End QLD 4101

PHONE: (07) 844 4593

EMAIL:holus@byteback.apana.org.au

THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ECOLOGY

The office of the Institute is located at:-

1st FLOOR, 82A VULTURE STREET, WEST END QLD 4101

Telephone (07) 846 4358

The Institute for Social Ecology

Library Subscription Form

The library was formed in 1988 and houses an important range of literature relevant to social ecology. An updated catalogue of books, articles, pamphlets and conference papers is available to members.

Donations of texts are most welcome.

MEMBERSHIP: **$ 20.00 per annum**
Payment by instalments/lump sum

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82A Vulture Street West End
Telephone (07) 846 4358

Name: _____

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Skills which may assist the Institute:

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I/We wish to (please tick):

*** Become an Institute for Ecology Library Member**

*** Make a Donation of Books/Money**

UNKLE FATS WAXES PHILOSOPHICAL

Word has drifted back off the streets to yer ole Unkle Fats that some of the readers of his last column think that he's talking shit.

Of course, the fact that these people happen to hold near and dear precisely those ideas that ole Unkle Fats was slagging off is purely coincidental.

I know some people think yer ole Unkle Fats hasn't got two neurones left to rub together. Not true - I even keep a spare one lying around for rainy days just in case.

I'm not interested in sectarian bun fights. I am interested in ideas. This is why this issue's column is going away from my usual anecdotal ramblings into yer straight-forward direct polemic abuse.

Unkle Fats says - "Read my lips. I am not an intellectual. Most intellectuals couldn't think their way out of a wet paper bag."

Reprinted from Gloat No 2 December 1992

Marxism is history

Marxism is now an ideology in the fullest and ugliest sense of the word. It has become a means of allowing people to say one thing and do another, to appear other than what they are. It allows them to believe that black is white and black is black simultaneously.

The ultimate extension of this is the genocide of the Stalinist purges.

In a sense Marxism first became an ideology when it became Establishment dogma in countries paradoxically called socialist. But the worker's paradise is the worker's nightmare - the compulsory teaching of "State and Revolution" in schools by the most rigid and oppressive state structures known to humanity.

But Marxism is also the map of the universe for the sects which spring up like mushrooms on the decomposing body of the "official" Marxist movement.

The significance of a theory cannot be grasped independently of the historical and social practice which it inspires and initiates, to which it gives rise, in which it prolongs itself, and under cover of which a particular practice seeks to justify itself.

Marx was the first to stress this fact. Now his own theory must be judged on this basis. History has had the last word. But for the true believers it falls on deaf ears. Those who turn back to the texts are like Christian fundamentalists who turn to the Bible for the answer to everything.

What has happened in the last 2000 years means nothing to such Bible-bashers in understanding or explaining what their religion is all about.

Those who still want to be Marxists will say -"To be Marxist is to remain faithful to Marx's method, which remains valid."

Has nothing happened in the last 100 years to compel us or allow us to question Marx's system and the ideas and categories he used to analyse society?

Such a position is hardly revolutionary. In time it is of necessity reactionary. It has been left behind, in the dust-bin of history.

The ideas will be history. The following generations will have no difficulty in seeing this about former ideologies of former times.

The hardest thing for successive generations in dealing with these ideas will be to try to understand how anyone, let alone a whole culture, could ever have believed in these ideas at all and based their daily lives on them. How did people ever believe that the earth was flat?

I might just point out here as an aside that anyone who believes in self-evident facts is a member of the Flat Earth Society.

Anarchism is also a 19th century philosophy. Just how reactionary are some of the anarchists' favourite shibboleths?

Have anarchists managed to get even a toe-hold on historical reality? If not, why not? Just how removed from reality is the vision splendid?

THE NEW MAN

You speak of difference
of the difficulties of their not being
a common language
between men and wimmin
Are we to assume you wish to
create one?
Is this the new line for me to absorb
construct my wimmin's reality
around?

You feel isolated in your maleness
well, so be it
you have eloquently created the
language of separateness
acted out the form
eulogized it
politicized it, imposed it.

This common language you seek
It is firstly
a matter of listening.

LYNDA M. RUSHTON
20.3.91

ANARRES BOOKS

Anarres Books is a Melbourne based anarchist book collective. We have been meeting and raising funds for over two years, with our first public bookstall in March 1994. Our commitment to our project is for the long term, hence our lengthy period of time (18 months) organising ourselves and building up stock before doing our initial bookstall and initial catalogue.

We see it as important for the growth and blossoming of the ideas of anarchism for the written ideas to be more easily accessible. Thus we have chosen to operate as a book collective. We import most of our stock directly from overseas suppliers as the titles we want to make more accessible are often not easy to get in Australia. (Except by visiting Black Rose or Jura Books in Sydney). As we have low overheads, and operate on a not-for-profit basis, our prices are kept low and therefore more accessible.

The long gestation period is also important as we hold process to be as important as the tasks we are pursuing. Because of this, we established ourselves as a small membership-based collective with an anti-mass philosophy. We believe that just disseminating books in itself is insufficient. If we are to increase people's awareness of anarchism, we need to practice it in a public way. So Anarres and its practices are an important part of the anarchist information we share.

Much of our activity is mundane and unglamorous, yet it is work that needs to be done if we are to effect change in community attitudes and structures. We see ourselves as helping to lay a foundation for a more just and equitable future.

Melbourne, over the last 20 years, has had a succession of relatively short lived anarchist bookshops and book services. Anarres Books aims to provide an anarchist book service, based in Melbourne, which is effective over a long period of time.

We recognise the ever present danger to groups such as ourselves of over commitment of physical, emotional and financial resources. This can lead to individual burn-out, transitory activity, and poor organisational process. The level of activity we have chosen is one we can sustain over many years, with minimal strain.

Opening a shop-front will only become an option when we have sufficient commitment of time, money, people and energy to do so in a constructive and sound fashion. Meanwhile, without the expensive overheads of shop rent, insurance, etc, we can concentrate on building a comprehensive range of titles, and an efficient mail order and bookstall service.

Our collective principles and aims which guide us are:

1. To make anarchist and related material more accessible by:

* running bookstalls.
* importing material from overseas.
* pricing on a not for profit basis.
* collective members donating their time,labour and money.
* providing an outlet for the literature of sympathetic groups.
* offering material by mail order.

2. To run this collective as an example of anarchy in action by:

* working as a small non-hierarchical collective.
* using consensus decision making and other small group maintenance processes.
* working as an affinity group with a shared commitment to each other and the project.
* maintaining a balance between tasks, processes, and group promotion.
* participating and supporting networks where appropriate
* encouraging interested people to become involved.

If you would like to receive our catalogue or read more about us and be added to our mailing list, please write to us:

Anarres Books

P.O. Box 150

Brunswick East

Victoria 3057

visions of freedom sydney jan 21-22 1995

HOW THE WEST BETRAYED TIMOR

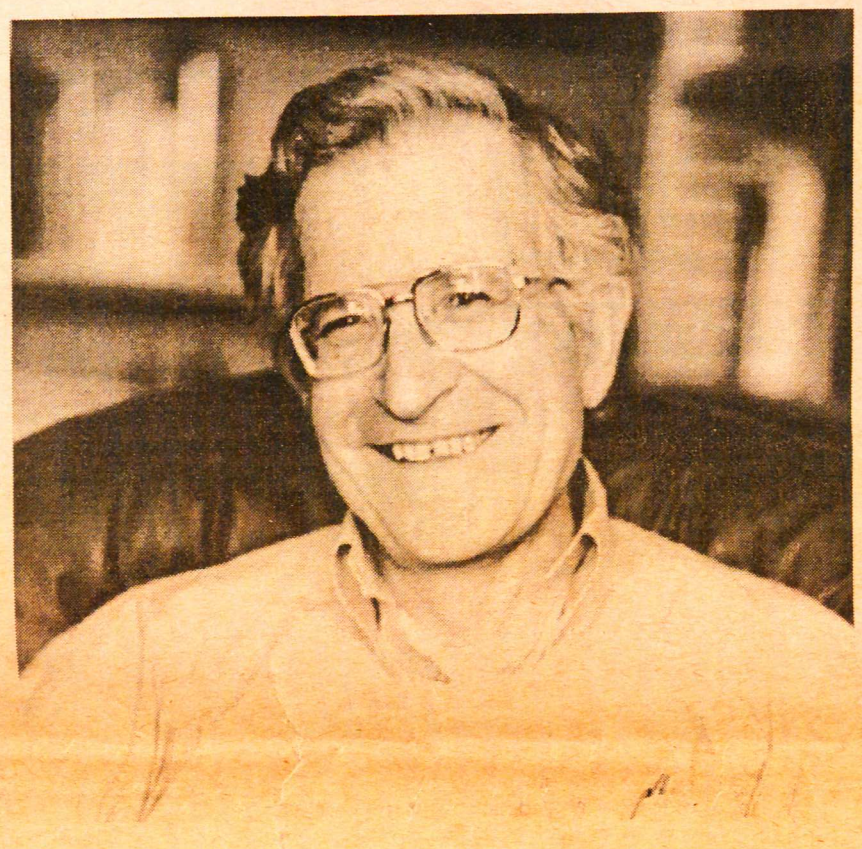
By Noam Chomsky

In the annals of crime of this terrible century, Indonesia's assault against East Timor ranks high, not only because of its scale - perhaps the greatest death toll relative to the population since the Holocaust - but because it would have been so easy to prevent, and to bring to an end at any time.

There is no need for threats to bomb Jakarta, or even to impose sanctions on the aggressor. It would suffice for the great powers to refrain from their eager participation in Indonesia's crimes; to stop putting guns into the hands of the killers and torturers while joining them in robbery of the offshore oil of the Timor Gap.

There is no excuse for any ignorance about these matters with the appearance of the 1994 edition of John Pilger's book *Distant Voices*, with its powerful and revealing chapters on East Timor.

Two years ago the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, said that his Government faced an important choice on East Timor, which had become "like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes". Benedict Anderson, a leading specialist on Indonesia, took this to be one of many signs of second thoughts: "Alatas doesn't spell out what the choice is," Anderson commented, "but he's implying you should take your shoe off and get rid of the gravel." The gravel was *not sharpened by Western power. Quite the contrary:* the West and Japan have been *willing partners in Indonesia's conquest and annexation of the former* Portugese colony.



As Pilger documents, it was well before Indonesia began its campaign of subversion and terror in 1975, followed by direct invasion on December 7, that the British Embassy in Jakarta reported: "Certainly as seen from here it is in Britain's interest that Indonesia should absorb the territory as soon as and as unobtrusively as possible; and that if it comes to the crunch and there is a row in the United Nations we should keep our heads down and avoid siding against the Indonesian government."

HEAR NOAM CHOMSKY SPEAK
SYDNEY TOWN HALL
SATURDAY JAN 21 7.30 PM

Australia shared this judgment. Pilger describes how in August 1975 the Ambassador to Jakarta, Richard Woolcott, advised in secret cables that Australia take "a pragmatic rather than a principled stand" with regard to the forthcoming invasion because "that is what national interest and foreign policy is all about". Along with the ritual reference to "the Australian defence interest", Woolcott suggested that a favourable treaty on the Timor Gap "could be much more readily negotiated with Indonesia... than with Portugal or independent Portuguese Timor".

The reasons for support for Indonesia's crimes went well beyond oil and "defence interests", including control of a deep-water passage for nuclear submarines. Indonesia has been an honoured ally ever since General Suharto came to power in 1965 with a "boiling bloodbath" that was "the West's best news for years in Asia" *(Time)*, a "staggering mass slaughter of Communists and pro-Communists", mostly landless peasants, that provided a "gleam of light in Asia" *(New York Times)*.

Euphoria knew no bounds, along with praise for the "Indonesian moderates" who prevailed *(NYT)* and their leader, who is "at heart benign" *(Economist)*.

Not only did the welcome bloodbath destroy the only mass-based political party in Indonesia, but it opened the rich resources of the country to Western exploitation and even justified the American war in Vietnam, which "provided a shield for the sharp reversal of Indonesia's shift toward Communism", as Freedom House soberly explained with no reservations. Such favours are not quickly forgotten. The US Ambassador, David Newsom, informed Woolcott that if Indonesia were to invade, the US hoped it would do so "effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment" - 90 per cent of its weapons supply.

Another lesson in realism was given by the US Ambassador to the UN, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, celebrated for his courageous defence of international law and human rights. "The United States wished things to turn out as they did," he writes in his memoirs, "and worked to bring this about. The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me, and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success." Moynihan cited figures of 60,000 killed in the first few months, "almost the proportion of casualties experienced by the Soviet Union during the Second World War", a foretaste of still greater successes soon to come.

Western governments were fully aware of what was happening throughout, contrary to subsequent pretence. As revealed in leaked internal records, Henry Kissinger's worst fear was that his complicity in the aggression might become public, and "used against me" by real or imagined political enemies.

Cable traffic shows that after "Suharto was given the green light" the main concern of the embassy and State Department was "about the problems that would be created for us if the public and Congress became aware" of the UN role, according to Philip Liechty, then a senior officer with the US Central Intelligence Agency in Jakarta, in a interview with Pilger.

Weapons provided by the US were limited strictly to self-defence. That posed no problem for Kissingerian realism: "And we can't construe a communist government in the middle of Indonesia as self-defence?" Kissinger asked with derision when the question was raised in internal discussion.

An independent East Timor would be "communist" by the usual criteria: it might not follow orders in a sprightly enough manner, interfering with the "national interest". New arms were sent, including counter-insurgency equipment; "everything that you need to fight a major war against somebody who doesn't have any guns," Liechty comments, adding that the advanced military equipment proved decisive, as other sources confirm. By 1977 Indonesia found itself short of weapons, an indication for the scale of its attack. The Carter Administration accelerated the arms flow. Britain joined in as atrocities peaked in 1978, while France announced that it would sell arms to Indonesia and protect it from any public "embarrassment".

The press contributed. Coverage of East Timor in the US had been high in 1974-75, amidst concerns over the break-up of the Portuguese empire. As another "boiling bloodbath" proceeded, coverage declined, keeping largely to the lies and apologetics of the State Department and Indonesian generals. By 1978, as the slaughter reached genocidal levels, coverage reached flat zero.

In 1990 the Timor issue received attention when Iraq invaded Kuwait, eliciting a response from the West rather unlike its reaction to Indonesia's vastly more bloody invasion and annexation of a small oil-rich country. Much ingenuity was displayed in explaining that the distinction did not lie in the locus of power and profit, but in some more subtle quality that preserves Anglo-American virtue.

Some commentators were forthright. The Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, explained in 1990: "The world is a pretty unfair place, littered with examples of acquisition by force." Since "there is no binding legal obligation not to recognise the acquisition of territory that was acquired by force", Australia may proceed to share Timor's oil with the conqueror.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, declared that "big countries cannot invade small neighbours and get away with it" (referring to Iraq and Kuwait); "would-be aggressors will think twice before invading smaller neighbours", secure in the lesson that "the rule of law must prevail over the rule of force in international *relations" - at least, when the "national interest" so dictates.*

The Timor issue reached threshold again in November 1991, when Indonesian troops attacked a graveyard commemoration of an earlier assassination, massacring hundreds of people and severely beating two US reporters. The tactical error called for the standard cover-up, deemed satisfactory by Western leaders. Oil exploration proceeded on course; contracts with Australian, British, Japanese, Dutch, and US companies were reported in the six months after the massacre. "To the capitalist governors," a Timorese priest wrote, "Timor's petroleum smells better than Timorese blood and tears."

The primary reasons why Indonesia might consider "taking the shoe off" is given in Pilger's chapters on East Timor. The reason, he writes, is "the enduring heroism of the people of East Timor, who continue to resist the invaders even as the crosses multiply on the hillsides", a constant "reminder of the fallibility of brute power and of the cynicism of others".

However courageous they may be, the people of East Timor have no hope without outside support. No amount of courage and unity will prevent Indonesian transmigration, atrocities and destruction of the indigenous culture, activities funded and supported by the great powers.

Support for Timorese rights has finally reached a significant level in the US, although the pace has been glacial. The truth began to seep into the public domain, compelling the media to take some notice and raising impediments to the "pragmatic course".

Congress has imposed barriers on military aid and training, which the White House has had to evade in ever more devious ways, particularly in recent months. Sensing the opportunity, Britain moved effectively under Thatcher's guiding hand to take first place in the highly profitable enterprise of war crimes.

The significance of Pilger's recent work on East Timor is attested by the angry response it has evoked from high government officials. To draw aside the veils of deceit that conceal the real world is no small achievement. But it will join other failed efforts unless the public response goes beyond mere awareness, to actions to end shameful complicity in crime.

The topic of Chomsky's talk on 21/1/95 will be "Thoughts on Goals and Visions".

Chomsky will be talking on Friday (20/1/95) as a guest of the East Timor Relief Association.

VISIONS O

SAT

9.30-11 **PLENARY**

LOOKING AT LIFE AND SOCIETY: A Critical appraisal of anarchy and the possibilities for change.

OPENING by MONSIGNOR PORCA MADONNA

hierarchy Versus demarchy:Brian Martin — Mark McGuire:anarcho-syndicalism
ecology:Ariel Saleh — Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society
feminism — Sisters of the Order of Perpetual Indulgence
racism & colonialism:Garry Foley — Brian Laver:utopian thought

DISCUSSION

11.15-1

1-2 **book launch**

BOMBER GROUNDED, RUNWAY CLOSED
Cairon O'Reilly
to be launched by Father Ted Kennedy

LUNCH

2-3.15

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM & PRIVATISATION
Nev Littler, Sid Parissi, Charlie Richardson, Dick Curlewis

ANARCHISM OR BARBARISM
Joe Toscano

ANARCHY & FEMINISM
Workshop

SELF-DETERMINATION & ANTI-IMPERIALISM
Panel
East Timor, Bougainville, West Papua, Australia

ANARCHY & ECOLOGY
Workshop

3.45-5

INTELLECTUALITY, FREE SPEECH & POSTMODERNISM
Panel
Jim Baker, Tony Katsigiannis, Isla MacGregor

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION, PARENTING & REALITY
Workshop

BUILDING LIBERATED POLITICS
Issues, Workplace, Community & Ecology
Brian Laver

5-7.30 **book launch**

HEMP & THE MARIJUANA CONSPIRACY
Jack Herer
1995 Let It Grow Calendar
to be launched by Macciza Macpherson (NORML) & John Jiggens (HEMP editor)

DINNER

7.30-10 **NAOM CHOMSKY: Thoughts on Goals & Visions**

DISCUSSION

10-late **PARTY**

CONFERENCE VENUE MEREWETHER BUILDING

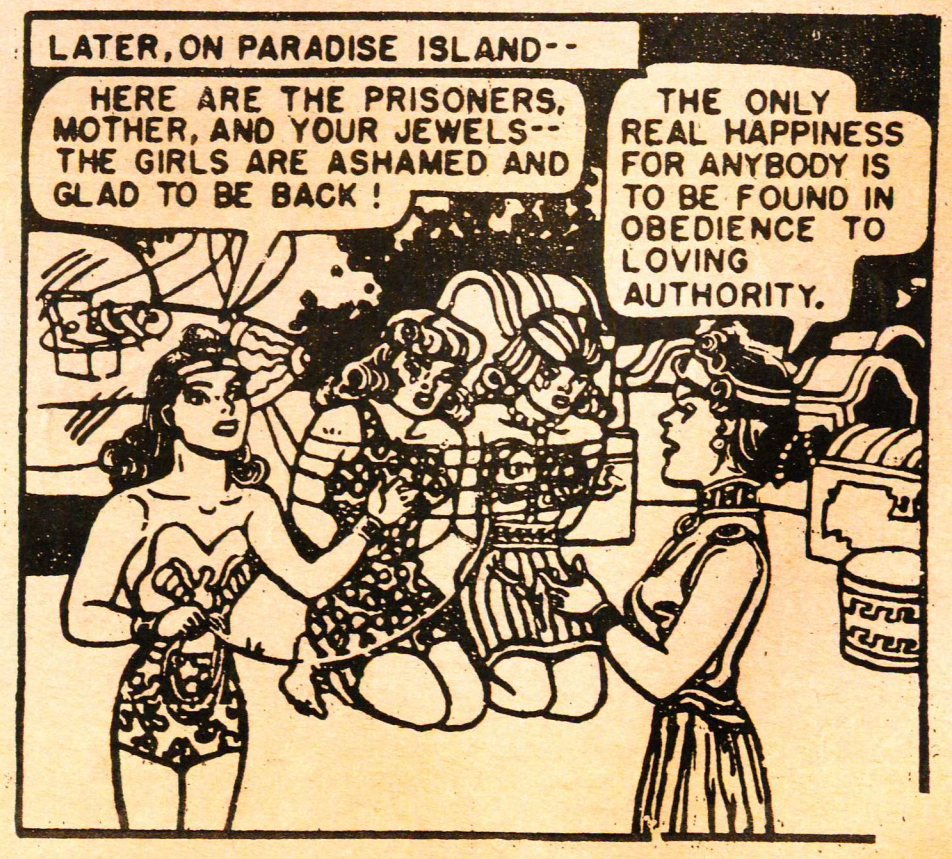
ANARCHY AND FEMINISM WORKSHOP

In 1975 Peggy Kornegger wrote "Anarchism:The Feminist Connection", and found so much in common between the two that she was led to say she thought that radical feminists have unconsciously been anarchists for years, and what was needed was for feminists to claim these politics in order to effect total transformation of society. Rereading Kornegger's article has made me wonder whether the same could be said nearly 20 years on; i suspect that the difference between the two, in theory and practice, would be vast. But, i think that there are sites of connection still (i just need to look a bit harder to find them).

Radical feminism's basis - the personal is political, which is obvious to anarchists - has unfortunately become increasingly narrow and dogmatic, and it has been through challenges to feminism by working class women, women of colour, sex workers, queers (and other groups that do not occupy priveleged space) that feminism has become a broad and meaningful politics of lived experience...Radical feminism 20 years ago posed a challenge to mainstream society, but needs to be constantly challenged itself in order to continue to be relevant and useful.

Like anarchism, a lot of feminist thought struggles to balance individuality and collectivity; the feminist perspectives that I find the most useful are those which aim to connect women to each other through shared experience/understanding, yet do not seek to define/speak for all women. It is in the space of connection that freedom, liberation and communication are able to flourish. And the concepts of feminism, of the liberation of individuals from a gender hierarchy, have as much significance for men as they have for women.

Current mainstream criticisms of feminism like to say that feminism is basically the whinging of women who want to keep women as a group in the position of "victim". Certainly there are strands of feminism that do put forward the line "all men oppress all women", and would have us believe that we live constantly under attack from the patriarchy. But there are feminists who do not place women as perpetual victims who must live in fear (and therefore need protection), but see women as individuals who are capable of choice and self determination and acting with personal responsibility - these ideas are at the root of anarchist understandings of community.


LATER, ON PARADISE ISLAND--
HERE ARE THE PRISONERS, MOTHER, AND YOUR JEWELS-- THE GIRLS ARE ASHAMED AND GLAD TO BE BACK !
THE ONLY REAL HAPPINESS FOR ANYBODY IS TO BE FOUND IN OBEDIENCE TO LOVING AUTHORITY.

Feminist and other political thought on subjectivity, power and society - how we form our identities, how this impacts upon our relationships with others, and the valuing of experiences that are not part of the mainstream - have an obvious connection with anarchist thought and action. Challenges to concepts of autonomy, independence, freedom (and to what extent we have access to these) help to keep anarchism a dynamic and living politics of transformation, rather than an abstract theory or mindless rebellion.

Obviously any discussion of feminism's relevance to anarchism raises more questions than it provides answers; these ideas are only the starting point for the workshop on anarchism and feminism that will be held at the conference.

Nicki.

...F FREEDOM

Sun

STUDENT MOVEMENT
Workshop

CRITIQUE OF RECENT SYDNEY ANARCHIST PRACTICE
Keith Agro, John A

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM
Strategy & Organisation in Australia
Dick Curlewis, Jeremy Dixon
Videos: Victorian Tram 1990, Nurses 1986 Disputes

ANARCHIST ORGANISATION
Workshop
Anne Fahey, Steve Roper, Joe Toscano, Steve Reghenzani

POLICING, CRIME & SOCIAL CONTROL
Coalition against Police Violence, Tim Anderson, Kath Kenny, Anarchist Black Cross

BOOKSHOPS, STALLS & INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION
Workshop

MILITARISM & SOCIAL DEFENCE
Brian Martin, Cairon O'Reilly, Brian Laver

PROVIDING TOOLS & TRAINING FOR SELF RELIANCE
Workshop
Lillian Geddes

GAY, LESBIAN & TRANSGENDER POLITICS
Order of Perpetual Indulgence

9.30-11
11.15-1
1-2
2-3.15
3.30-5
5-late

ANARCHISM & ENVIRONMENTAL SURVIVAL
and
MY JOURNEY WITH ARISTOTLE TO ANARCHIST UTOPIA
Graham Purchase
to be launched by Sid Parissi

book launch

CLASS POST THE BERLIN WALL
Michael Matteson

ANARCHIST MEDIA
Workshop

HEMP CAMPAIGN
Workshop
Tony Kneipp, Bob Hopkins, Timothy Moore

CONFEDERATION & BUILDING COMMON CAMPAIGNS
Workshop
Brial Laver

VICTORIAN TRAMSWAY DISPUTE
Leigh Kendall

PLENARY: the future

POST CONFERENCE DINNER & PARTY

***CONTINUOUS EVENTS*: VIDEO FESTIVAL ART INSTALLATION**
INTERNET ACCESS MULTIMEDIA ANTICOPYRIGHT MUSIC
BOOKSTALLS CHEAP QUALITY CATERING BY ALPHA HOUSE

For further information, publicity material, registration and sponsorship forms the Visions of Freedom committee can be contacted at 110 Crystal St Petersham 2049 telephone (02) 564 6413.

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY CHOMSKY SYDNEY TOWN HALL

NIMBIN HEMP ACTIVIST, PROHIBITION END, IN PRISON!!

JAILED FOR A JOINT!

Bob Hopkins (aka Prohibition End) is a man with a mission. Since 1987, he has been continuously working to bring about "the removal of all penalties for the personal use, possession and cultivation of marijuana, and a complete reappraisal of the drug laws." Initially this was virtually a single-handed effort.

In the paranoid "drug war" climate of the '80s, not many people were willing or brave enough to publicly identify as being sympathetic to the plight of illegal drug users. Not many people were even prepared to publicly admit there was a problem with the drug laws.

Nevertheless, Bob carried on his campaign to initiate at the very least an "open and rational discussion" on the subject. He did everything from running for the Senate to picketing the Northern Star offices about their lack of attention to a topic that he could see was tearing his community apart.

By the '90s, as it was becoming more and more obvious that the drug laws just weren't working, the tide of public opinion seemed to shift. Many people on the North coast were coming out of the closet.

Sick of the paranoia, sick of the harassment, not willing to watch their now adolescent children being sent to jail, more than 1000 people marched through Nimbin on Mayday 1993, publicly stating their dissatisfaction with the drug laws.

The '93 "Let It Grow!" rally was a watershed for the Nimbin HEMP (Help End Marijuana Prohibition) group that had formed around Bob's original stirring.

1994 promised interesting things. The April Fool's Day Action saw about 150 people parade down the street smoking pot and waving hemp stalks. Arriving at the police station, they all demanded to be arrested, hoping to tie up the courts and demonstrate the cost and folly of the drug laws. Understandably, the police were only willing to arrest one person, Bob Hopkins. Accompanied by his lawyer David Heilpern, Bob was admitted to the police station, where they confiscated his roach and dried hemp stalks. No charges were laid at the time.

The following Mayday Let It Grow carnival and street parade was a huge success, attracting more than 2000 people this year. The Beyond Prohibition Conference which was held in Nimbin concurrently, featured many of Australia's legal, medical and sociological experts in the field and brought together academics and activists for the first time.

In late September, Bob finally received a summons to appear in court over his April 1st "non-arrest". By now, he had changed his name to "Prohibition End" and was gearing up for a '95 state election campaign. The court case was adjourned twice.

At the first adjournment, the police prosecutor shocked everyone by announcing that David Heilpern would be called as a witness for the prosecution, and as such would be unable to appear as Bob's lawyer. This effectively denied Bob his first choice of legal representative. It is a matter of video record that the police only allowed David into the station on April 1st as Bob's legal counsel.

At his third adjournment (16th December), the bail conditions were changed. Suddenly, Bob was being asked to sign a deposition to the effect that he would neither use nor possess illegal drugs whilst on bail. Being both scrupulously honest and a confirmed pot-head, he naturally enough refused to do this.

Ignoring a Supreme Court precedent that conditions of this sort should only be applied to offenders who were a physical threat to society, sitting Magistrate Jeff Lynden would not budge.

When expert medical reports were tendered to the effect that Bob suffered extreme mood swings which he controlled through self-medication with pot, and that he was physically unwell and had a radiologist's appointment the following week, the Judge's only comment was that he couldn't see how cannabis would help such a condition.

Obviously an expert in many fields, magistrate Lynden seems to feel that an unstoned Bob is less of a threat to society than a stoned one. Bob in the meantime is left in the ironic position of being sent to jail for refusing to lie.

The courtroom erupted in cries of "Unfair!" and "The law is an ass!" as a hand-cuffed Bob Hopkins (aka was led to a waiting paddy wagon to spend a week in Grafton jail.

And Bob's comment when last seen heading for Grafton?

"Well, the system has shown it's true vindictive colours... jail for a tiny roach and I haven't even been convicted yet. First they deny my first choice of legal counsel and now this... a hunger strike seems in order. It's not the crime they're punishing, it's the attitude. Let It Grow!

THE PLANT'EM IN PRISON!!

Bob Hopkins, aka The Plant'em, aka The Ghost Who Tokes, aka Prohibition End, in Plant'em persona at 1994 Mayday Festival

Noam Chomsky: Compelling Revelations

1: Chomsky and Democracy

Noam Chomsky has been the most consistent and penetrating critic of American foreign policy this century. For over twenty years his biting and carefully-documented essays have exposed the moral outrage of active American (and other western nations) support for human-rights violating regimes in Vietnam, the Middle East, Central and South America and the Caribbean, and, closer to home, in East Timor. Chomsky's work shows that the "free world" policies of support for these oppressive regimes have been extensive and systematic. They are continuing, established outcomes of liberal institutions. They cannot be dismissed as mere exceptions, minor flaws in an otherwise largely satisfactory record, or leftovers from an unenlightened, Cold War past. The horror story Chomsky outlines of the frustration of movements for social change and popular control by means of overt and covert invasion, murder and atrocity, is made bearable for his readers by the controlled anger of his bitter irony .

What makes Chomsky such an important political activist and thinker for our time is the juxtaposition of his powerful, activist-flavoured exposure of the contradictions of the liberal effort to "promote democracy, human rights, and free markets world wide" with the strength of his own thought on liberal and radical democracy. Particularly useful has been his strategy for contesting the key idea of democracy, which never makes the mistake of conceding it to the opposition or of identifying democracy with its dominant capitalist form (which Chomsky terms "procedural democracy"). Chomsky's political work shows us the dirty underside of liberal democracy in the area of foreign policy, and confronts us with the central fact of contemporary political life, that democracy under capitalism has failed the expectations and hopes for justice and equality held by its founders and by the radical movements of the past. But what makes the course Chomsky charts on democracy so important for the future is that he has been able to show us this failure without causing us to lose sight of the value of democracy itself.

Thus Chomsky neatly sidesteps the dilemma over democracy which has paralysed so much of the left for so long. For despite his revelations of the colossal contradictions of the liberal/capitalist version of democracy, Chomsky avoids the destructive cynicism about democracy which has afflicted the Marxist left. This cynicism, which derides political democracy as hollow and valueless, an empty bourgeois show, has impeccable credentials from Marx himself, and has played a major role in the failure of Marxist societies to develop an alternative democratic theory and political practice. But at the same time, while insisting on the centrality of democracy, Chomsky avoids the other problematic left course of uncritically idealising the liberal public sphere and its impoverished and inconsistent concept of freedom, a course which leads social democrats to overestimate the potential for achieving change in liberalism and ultimately toward acquiescing in the inequalities and silencing of oppressed groups that it has instutionalised. Chomsky's work points toward radical democracy as the solution to this dilemma : it helps suggest the direction such a reclaimed and redefined concept of democracy might take and some of the alternative strategies it must try to explain and avoid.

Although he has won academic respect as a leading theorist in the area of theoretical linguistics, in the area of his political work Chomsky's powerful combination of activist comment and democratic commitment has met with silence and dismissal . Chomsky's approach to political issues offends and disrupts the academic game in several ways. A striking feature of political philosophy as it is done in the contemporary liberal academy is its insulation from the rougher realities of contemporary liberal society. In this self-enclosed world, professional theorists mostly address one another, ignore the impact of their theories on the lives around them, and rarely interrogate the genial claims of theory to see how they might correspond to the experiences liberalism generates for less protected groups. If liberal-democratic theory proclaims justice and equality to be its core values, most theorists will be content to accept that they are indeed so, and to treat the debate as an abstract one about how these might be understood in theoretical terms, rather than about how far they are applied in practice.

Reality testing is someone else's department : but that someone else is likely to be constrained, as an empirical researcher, in ways which are different but which similarly delegitimise or compromise political critique. As an "expert" subject to the iron rule "stick to your field", he or she will be licensed to speak only about a minute piece of the puzzle, and the obligatory "value-free" stance will normally be taken to involve accepting the effects of power. In contrast, Chomsky's political writing "in dissent" engages the nonprofessional reader and forces a way through this neat academic system for defeating popular participation and protecting power via disciplinary division and academic conventions of disengagement. Although his eminence and daring have made it possible for him to bring this off and to win a wider audience, academic political philosophy has not forgiven this dangerous flouting of its conventions and has still to address Chomsky's political work and the embarrassing phenomena it discloses. But of course, the refusal to take Chomsky's work in this area seriously is also made easier by the limitations of its interrogation of power.

2 : Limitations of Chomsky's Vision

Despite the strengths of his thought in the area of democratic politics, Chomsky's thought in a broader liberation context shows many serious limitations and incompletenesses, so that he is hardly the new Messiah that some on the left have proclaimed. Not only does he lack a broad theory of oppression which might be able to unite the concerns of oppressed groups, but also in some areas his thought contains elements of insensitivity to certain forms of oppression or is downright inconsistent with liberation perspectives. For example, in the main area in which he is lauded in academia, he has progressively (and needlessly) modified his account of syntax and criteria for language use so as to deny the key elements of linguistic capacity to non-human animals. Thus he has done much to reinforce a traditional mechanistic account of animals which denies them access to reason and presents humans as discontinuous from the "lower" animal world. Historically, this treatment of the animal (and of oppressed human groups identified with animality or nature) as radically other has been a key element in denying kinship, blocking identification and sympathy, and maintaining the structures of oppression for animals, for nature and for those human groups (such as women) assimilated to them.

Similarly, Chomsky has been unwilling to carry his critique of managerial and knowledge elites through in a thoroughgoing way to an interrogation of the modes of rationality associated with them, which lie behind the foreign policy decision-making he detests. He regularly castigates intellectuals for their lack of concern and responsibility, but he does not follow his critique of the knowledge elite through to a critique of their stock-in-trade of rational disengagement. He understands that his colleagues are blinkered, but aims to explain this, in simple economic reductionist terms, as a product of their capitulation to privilege. But it is too easy to depict the knowledge and indoctrination elites (including academics and journalists) as merely servants of power, each individually conforming to whatever is in their economic interests to believe, as he suggests.

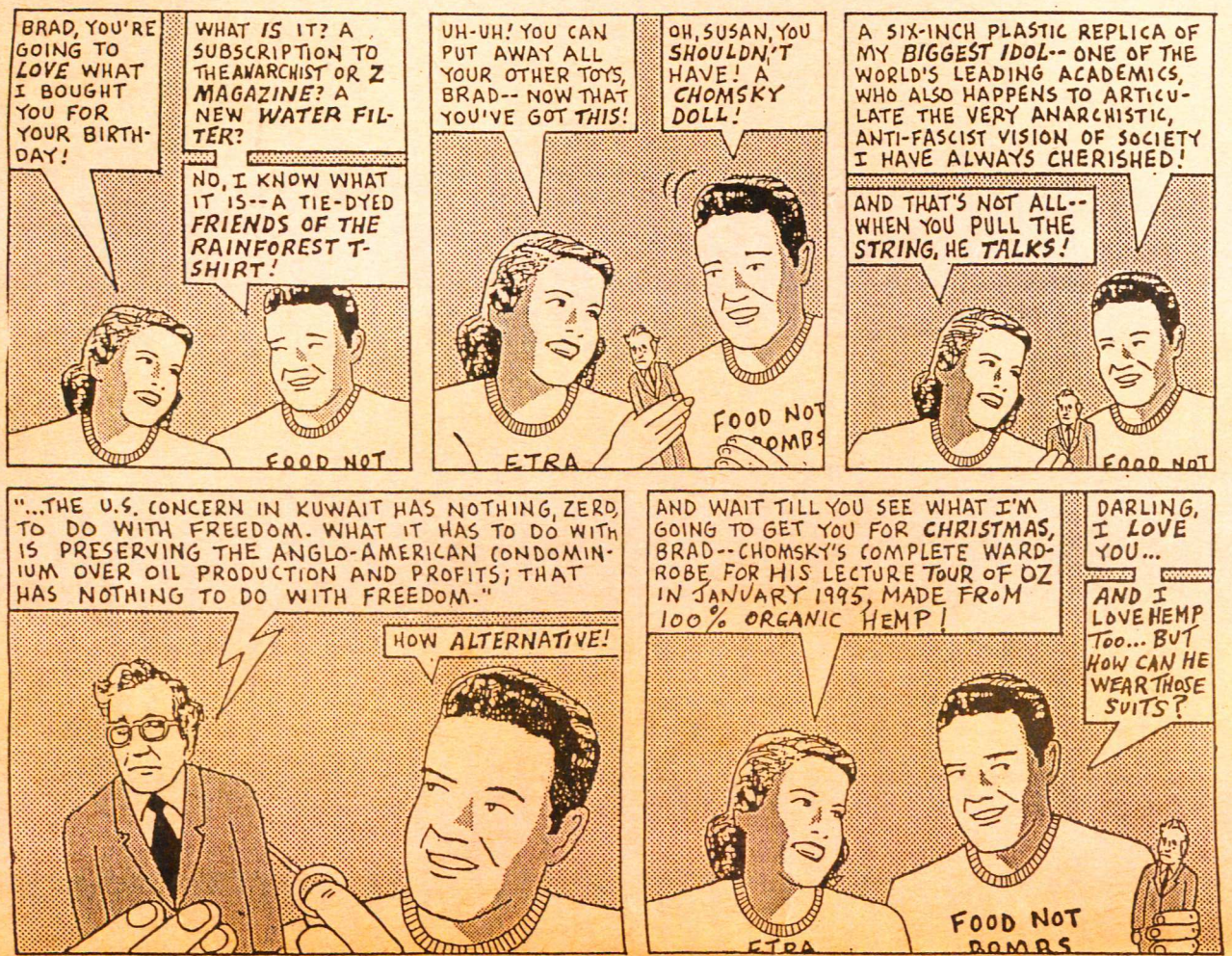
To explain the complicity of the knowledge elite and the academy in systems of oppression, we must look not only to individual economic interest here but also to the systems of rationality into which the knowledge elite is inserted. Dominant market, bureaucratic and scientific systems of rationality are each, in their own ways, instrumental to privilege, and each has developed ways to systematically disappear or obscure marginalised experience, thus standing in the way of change and of solidarity between oppressed people. The framework of disengagement and objectivism is itself problematic, as feminist and other critics have pointed out, cloaking the presentation of privileged perspectives as universal and impartial, and the marking of marginalised but not privileged perspectives as "emotional", "biased" and "political" . Yet it is this framework and the concept of a singular, unquestionable model of reason which has somehow escaped political influence in its formation that Chomsky himself passionately defends in his castigation of those critical theories he terms "postmodernist". Chomsky and others in the circle associated with Z Magazine use this highly problematic term "postmodernism" as a punching bag which offers a diversion from and an excuse to avoid serious consideration of the important critiques of modernity, reason and science which have emerged from feminist and other colonised sources.

Chomsky is, as he says himself, a "child of the Enlightenment", and most of these limitations result from the conservatism of his philosophical thought and his refusal to critique or look beyond enlightenment rationalism. Chomsky offers a reason based explanatory framework to account for contemporary oppression which concentrates on the "manufacture of consent" and the control of information by market, bureaucratic and knowledge elites. He is right to stress the lack of democracy and accountability in economic institutions, and their instrumentalisation of media and political life. But confinement to this framework leads to economic reductionism and cannot account for or address the multiplicity or the specific content of the particular forms of contemporary oppression. Its inadequacy emerges once we begin to ask questions about other forms of power. As bell·hooks points out, it tells us little about the specific content of liberal/capitalist exclusions, for example, why the corporations are not run by and for blacks or women. For a fuller account of why political citizenship has been rendered unavailable to or ineffective for the excluded groups who most need to exercise it, we will have to go beyond the simple and rather question-begging account in terms of economic elites and look at associated cultural systems of exclusion : for example the rationalist dualisms which naturalise and support rational meritocracy and the resulting hierarchies of race, class, gender and nature, as well as the mind/body dualism which sustains the central liberal duality between political and economic citizenship. In short, to understand properly the failure of democracy Chomsky deplores, we need the critique of rationality Chomsky refuses.

Although Chomsky is a key political figure, he is not then, as some of his admirers have suggested, the key political figure, and to treat him in this way is to try to turn the clock back to an older and narrower conception of oppression, of politics and political leadership which has shown itself inadequate. That his perspective is both valuable and limited should not come as any surprise, and should put us in mind of the pitfalls of guruism that helped destroy Marxism. For how could one person, and that person a highly privileged member of the earth's most privileged culture, possibly articulate the plurality of struggles and experiences of oppression we need to support ? Instead of expecting one brilliant white male expert to deliver the good word for us on everything from feminism and racism to science, we should approach Chomsky's valuable activist and strategic contributions as one part of a larger field of resources which could enable us rescue the concept of democracy from the clutches of liberalism and develop a new and truly inclusive liberatory theory and practice of democracy .

This must be new as well as old, because although it must involve continuity with older radical traditions which have stressed democracy, such as anarchism, a radical account of democracy must immediately confront the inadequacy of all the old political labels that preceded liberation politics, including the "anarchist" and "libertarian socialist" positions Chomsky invokes. For an account of democracy responsive to the concerns voiced by a range of excluded groups must involve more than extending democracy and equality to the community and to the economic and workplace decision-making that male anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist thinkers have historically stressed. To take up feminist criticisms, it must extend democracy and equality to the further domestic areas of life and relationship conceived as "private" and hence as beyond the reach of democratic principle. To avoid the familiar traps of economic and political reductionism it must extend its scope to democratic culture as well as political and economic relations. Feminist critiques of liberal democratic methods also point to the need for major structural changes in the area of representation to deliver a politics of presence, a politics of difference, and a politics of liberation. And much, much more.

Val Plumwood


BRAD, YOU'RE GOING TO LOVE WHAT I BOUGHT YOU FOR YOUR BIRTHDAY!
WHAT IS IT? A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ANARCHIST OR Z MAGAZINE? A NEW WATER FILTER?
NO, I KNOW WHAT IT IS--A TIE-DYED FRIENDS OF THE RAINFOREST T-SHIRT!
FOOD NOT
UH-UH! YOU CAN PUT AWAY ALL YOUR OTHER TOYS, BRAD-- NOW THAT YOU'VE GOT THIS!
OH, SUSAN, YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE! A CHOMSKY DOLL!
ETRA
FOOD NOT
A SIX-INCH PLASTIC REPLICA OF MY BIGGEST IDOL-- ONE OF THE WORLD'S LEADING ACADEMICS, WHO ALSO HAPPENS TO ARTICULATE THE VERY ANARCHISTIC, ANTI-FASCIST VISION OF SOCIETY I HAVE ALWAYS CHERISHED!
AND THAT'S NOT ALL-- WHEN YOU PULL THE STRING, HE TALKS!
FOOD NOT
"...THE U.S. CONCERN IN KUWAIT HAS NOTHING, ZERO, TO DO WITH FREEDOM. WHAT IT HAS TO DO WITH IS PRESERVING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONDOMINIUM OVER OIL PRODUCTION AND PROFITS; THAT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH FREEDOM."
HOW ALTERNATIVE!
AND WAIT TILL YOU SEE WHAT I'M GOING TO GET YOU FOR CHRISTMAS, BRAD--CHOMSKY'S COMPLETE WARDROBE FOR HIS LECTURE TOUR OF OZ IN JANUARY 1995, MADE FROM 100% ORGANIC HEMP!
DARLING, I LOVE YOU...
AND I LOVE HEMP TOO... BUT HOW CAN HE WEAR THOSE SUITS?
ETRA
FOOD NOT BOMBS

©1994...WORDS: CHRISTINE MARLIN/CKCU-FM OTTAWA...PICTURES: TOM TOMORROW...FROM THE COMPANION BOOK TO THE FILM MANUFACTURING CONSENT BY MARK ACHBAR AND PETER WINTONICK...

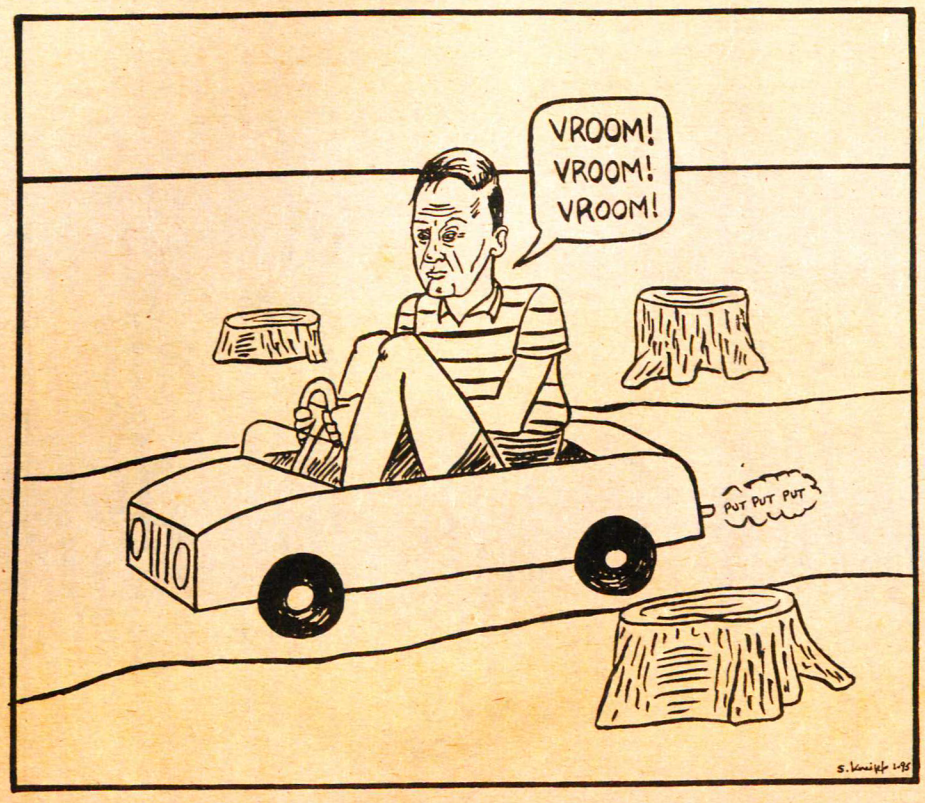
KENNETT REGIME ABOVE THE LAW

It's strange isn't it, an anarchist telling the Premier of Victoria the law? Our beloved Premier the Great (I have my picture on a billboard outside the airport) Kennett seems to have forgotten the role of the law in a capitalist society. The anti-discrimination board has found on a number of occasions that the state government's closure of Northland Secondary College was in breach of the state's anti-discrimination laws and has ordered the state to reopen the college. The Kennett regime has stated that nobody can tell them how to govern and that they will take the matter back to the Supreme Court.

The role of the courts and various anti-discrimination boards in Australian society is about people and governments obeying the laws and the current constitution. Because the anti-discrimination board has found against the government does not mean that the board is telling the government what to do, what they are saying is that everybody in society including governments have to obey the law; that no one is above the law.

Our beloved Premier does not seem to understand this basic fact. If he is unhappy with the law, he and his cohorts in Parliament should abolish the anti-discrimination board. But because of a possible public backlash and Federal government intervention, the weak willed cowards in the Victorian government do not want to repeal the anti-discrimination laws. They just want to destroy any opposition by using the courts to do their bidding.

Interestingly, every major piece of legislation passed in Victoria has had an appendix to it which removes the right of people to challenge the government through the Supreme Court. So it's interesting to note that the Kennett regime will use the courts to crush opposition while it denies Victorians the right to challenge legislation in the Supreme Court. So much for the intellectually challenged government that the Victorians find themselves saddled with.



Anarchist Age No 130 19/12/94

INFORMAL ILLEGAL

In 1990 the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society held a VOTE INFORMAL - DIRECT DEMOCRACY NOT PARLIAMENTARY RULE campaign. We held a VOTE INFORMAL campaign using one Senate candidate. The group was able to obtain extensive television, radio and newspaper coverage on the aims of the campaign and on what Anarchism is and how an anarchist society would function.

The campaign allowed many people who were interested in Anarchism in Melbourne, but were not part of an active group, to become involved in anarchist activities. The outcome of the campaign was that in Melbourne, twice as many people voted informal than any other city in Australia and polling agencies added the informal category to their polling results before the election. The campaign also led to a direct confrontation with the Australian Electoral Commission, which caused so much controversy that during the recent State elections in Victoria the Chief Electoral Commissioner refused to do any media interviews because they were concerned about adverse publicity from our campaign in 1990.

In 1993 the Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society stood two candidates in the Senate Election. Our 1990 campaign had been so successful that on the last sitting day of Parliament in 1992 the Labor, Liberal, National and Democrats passed legislation that made it illegal to encourage people to vote informal. The penalty for encouraging people to vote informal was not a fine but was six months imprisonment. We still conducted a VOTE INFORMAL campaign and once again obtained widespread publicity for anarchist ideas. During the course of the 1993 election campaign we were invited to take part in a High Court challenge about the unconstitutional nature of the new law. We decided not to take part but to continue to press the state to take action against our campaign.

The Federal Government did not take any legal action against us as it's obvious the law is unconstitutional and if they took us to court and lost they would be forced to call new elections as we were not permitted to campaign because of the new law. To date this law still stands. The Federal government wants to intimidate people not to spoil its festival of representative democracy. Obviously we will continue to challenge the notion that people are forced to vote, that we cannot encourage people to vote informal and most importantly we want to challenge the notion that elections have anything to do with democracy.

The next Federal election will take place in late 1995 or early 1996. The Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society intend to challenge the whole parliamentary farce. What tactics we decide to use will be determined as we get closer to the election date. We encourage other Anarchists in other states to challenge the electoral system and will most likely host a national anti-electoral workshop later in 1995 to assist and encourage other anarchists to mount effective anti-electoral campaigns for the next Federal election.

LIBERTARIAN WORKERS FOR A SELF-MANAGED SOCIETY

MELBOURNE

AFFINITY GROUPS

An Affinity Group is a small group of friends or family, of between three and twelve people, who have in common a will to creatively and constructively face the modern social and ecological crisis.

A group of this size and intimacy is an essential level of grassroots organisation between the autonomous individual and the broad based action group, which may involve dozens or thousands of individuals. Like the latter, the Affinity Group is a pooling of resources to further collective potentialities, but it is a more flexible political unit that can change with times and issues, disperse, divide, merge or reformulate at will. It is a scale in which democracy happens spontaneously and fluidly, without recourse to voting or facilitation. Unlike a larger organisation, it cannot easily be infiltrated.

In beginning, an Affinity Group should have a non-political existence already. Whether it is family, friend, workplace, profession or issue based, an authentic affinity group is not constituted by individuals who have barely met. Ideally, everyone is very familiar and have been for some time. They are at least somewhat familiar with one another's foibles and fears as well as positive common interests.

An excellent manner in which to inaugurate an Affinity Group is to have a dinner party, the purpose of which is to eliminate the difference between a group of mates and an active political unit. Essentially the task is to affirm a desire to work together as an activist ensemble, and to discuss in a preliminary fashion the skills, resources and connections that are collectively at hand and hence the sorts of things the group may be capable of achieving.

Advice less generalised than the above becomes problematic as the Affinity Group, whatever its name (if it has one) or purpose (if one be articulated), is a highly individuated development. There are, however, some aspects of Affinity Group activity that can broadly be said to be necessary.

It is essential that an Affinity Group develop connections with other individuals and groups. The Group will inevitably feel the need to be involved in campaigns larger than its own capacity. Mutual aid between groups, where interests meet, is an essential aspect of revolution. Two documents that are useful are a working list of contacts (other groups and centres, a good lawyer etc) and a calendar to mark meetings, demonstrations, actions or benefits in which the group wishes to participate.

Aside from the importance of complementary networking and mutual aid, there are three broad components of Affinity Group development, any one of which would be dangerous to neglect: Watching, Considering and Acting.

Watch! Regular, reliable information about events and ideas is essential to activists everywhere. As well as utilising every information resource available, it is important to be a provider of information, contributing to the available knowledge. A nearby remnant of wilderness may be the thing to keep collective eyes on. Ideally, for this example, plans would be sought, legislation pertaining to the area would be researched and any commercial activity would be carefully scrutinised. What you are watching for is opportunities to defend and promote ecology and intelligence.

Consider! A movement cannot sustain itself without a foundation of ideas that are broadly understood and shared, which is not to say all must be agreed on. When exposed to the public, the law or the media it is beneficial to maintain a level of consistency in the message portrayed by different individuals. Though not necessary, developing a written set of ideas, principles and goals may help, and may also play a role in developing the group's identity and solidarity. Such discussions will of course focus on the particular concerns of the group, and analysis will be from the group's perspective, but it should also be informed by the universal anarchist network.

Act! Networking, watching and considering can evolve the Affinity Groups capable of acting against the 'mainstream' society of domination and exploitation. Even where there is no action, groups must be formed and allowed to develop connections, knowledge and ideological sophistication. Indeed, groups may need great patience.

Action is crucial, but premature or misguided action may be disastrous, so it is sound advice to first meet regularly for a while, without avoiding long hours of discussion, introspection and research. If people are itching for action, begin by getting involved in a mature campaign, like an old growth forest campaign or the HEMP campaign. Not only will this be invaluable experience, it is as a group that individuals can most easily and effectively become integral to such a campaign. Action requires legal and scientific information from reliable, competent professionals. It needs quality liaison and technical knowhow as well as the logistic ability to feed, equip and transport activists. Photographers and sympathetic journalists are important for protection against uninhabited slander. Only an experienced Affinity Group should undertake a major campaign.

Above, all the Affinity Group is the fundamental unit of anarchist society. Its existence, and the elaboration of the network of all sorts of groupings, is important in itself, as it is the infrastructure of the new society that must come about.

See you on the barricades.

HAMISH R. ALCORN

timor remembered: petroz resisted christian anarchists in action

In October 1975, five Australian journalists were tortured and slain in East Timor by a raiding party of Indonesian troops. In the invasion of East Timor that followed over 200,000 Timorese have been massacred by Indonesian forces. These forces were armed and financed by the United States and Britain, some of them were trained in Australia.

The oil reserves of the Timor Sea have been divided between Indonesian and Australian governments and drilling corporations. One of these corporations is Petroz NL, headquartered on the 23rd. floor of the Colonial Mutual Building, 300 Queen St Brisbane.

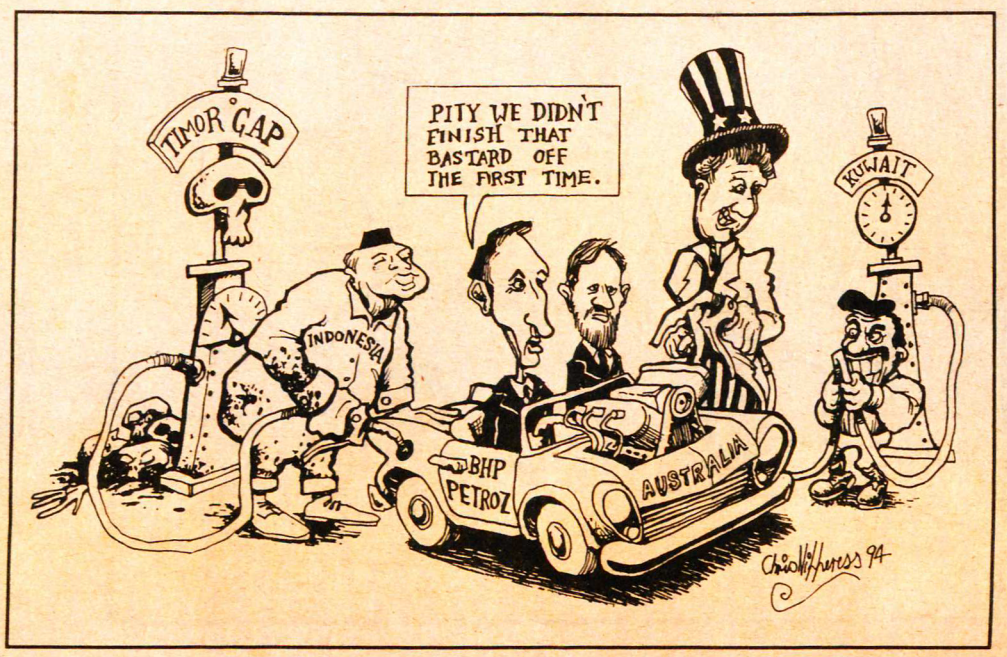
The Timorese have never accepted this invasion, genocide and theft. On November 12th 1991, a funeral procession ,in Dili, of a young student activist was attacked by Indonesian forces. Over 200 unarmed Timorese were massacred in this incident.

In Brisbane on the eve of the anniversary of the Dili Massacre (II/II/94), four radical Christians rode the elevator to the 23rd floor of the Colonial Mutual Building. As the lift doors opened my brother engaged the Petroz secretary in conversation about Timor while the rest of us strode past and into the boardroom. We had brought with us containers of human blood that we had donated to the action. We poured this blood over the boardroom table and Petroz logo to symbolise the Timorese blood that had been spilt as a result of the corporate decisions made around this table. We pasted the office walls and exploration maps with photographs of Timorese slain, starving and wounded. We then carried out a rite of deliverance, or exorcism, naming the spirits of Petroz for what they are - spillers of blood, reapers of profit, destroyers of villages homes and lives. We cast out any control Petroz and its agents of state and law have over our behaviour, any hopes they maintain for our silence and complicity in the face of 200,000 Timorese dead. We then knelt in prayer.

As the police arrived, I welcomed them with the greeting, "Officers, officers, we're so glad you're here! There's been an armed robbery. Petroz is stealing oil from the Timor Strait at gunpoint. Over 200,000 Timorese and five Australians have been murdered. We've got to do something!" Unfortunately the police stepped over 19 years of genocide and 200,000 dead and ordered us to vacate the building. Lisa Bridle, seven months pregnant, stood up and was escorted out. Jim Dowling and I refused to move. We were handcuffed tightly behind our backs, pressure holds to our necks and wrist locks to both wrists were applied to get us to walk. We continued to refuse and to let our bodies fall limp, it was a painful exit. We were finally loaded into a police van, taken to the watchhouse, charged with wilful damage and hindering police.

Jim Dowling and I met in the watchhouse sixteen years ago. Since then our experiments with radical Christianity have brought us to many sites like Petroz in a spirit of nonviolent resistance... Watsonia, Nurrungar, Pine Gap, Roxby Downs, Cabarlah, The Pentagon, Griffiss Air Force Base (Syracuse - USA), Canungra, USS New Jersey, HMS Ark Royal, USS Hoel, USS Texas and Harewood. The word "radical" has Latin roots meaning "returning to the roots". We believe that Christianity has roots of a pacifist disposition to violence and an anarchist orientation toward the state. We look back to the first 300 years of Christians when it was illegal to be a Christian in the Roman empire and no Christians would join the military. We know that with the conversion of Constantine the situation changed from it being illegal to be a Christian in Rome to it being illegal not to be one. It went from no Christians joining the imperial military to where you had to be a Christian in order to enlist. We believe any compromise with the principles of pacifism and anarchy leaves Christianity merely decorative to empire and its high crimes. There has always been a subversive remnant of Christians who realise the anarchist and pacifist implications of their discipleship, from the Diggers to the Amish to the activist Catholic Worker and Plowshares movements with which we have come to identify.

A definition of theology is "faith seeking understanding". We realise that for our brothers and sisters in Timor, the Philippines, El Salvador and other parts of the Third World a major theme of their theology will be one of liberation. For those disciples who find themselves dwelling at the heart of the locus



imperii ("situation of empire") the theme of repentance and resistance will be central to our journey back to being authentically human. As Hiroshima (see Gulf Massacre) and low intensity conflict (see Timor, Bougainville, the Philippines etc.) have become the means of taking life to maintain the economic arrangements of empire, we have had to move from merely conscientious objection to direct nonviolent resistance to engage the capital intensified and franchised war machine. The experiments of Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, and the theology of Ched Meyers, have been very helpful to radical Christians in making this transition.

In jail and out we have tapped into the subversive story of the gospels - of nonviolent confrontation of empire and celebration of community. We refuse to surrender the sacraments of radical community to co-opted church bureaucrats and the power of exorcism in Hollywood. Radical is a term as unfashionable today as it was trendy in the 1960's, we refuse to concede it to nostalgia. As Gore Vidal says, "If you want to get to the root of anything you must be radical. It is no accident that the world has been totally demonised by our masters, and no one in politics dares to use the word favourably, much less track any problem to its root."

We stay on site, and stick with the action, because we wish to be responsible for it. We believe that it won't be an elite group of hit and split activists who will realise revolution but a spirit of responsibility and community sweeping away the apathy and alienation of this death culture.

We kneel as a symbol of our own complicity in the theft and robbery of the Timorese. Such a sense of complicity and humility is basic to the practise of nonviolence.

We pray as an act of radical disillusionment with the culture that demands the genocide of Timorese and our accompanying silence. As Meyers points out, "It is (in Mark's gospel) instructive that Jesus invites his disciples to prayer on just two occasions. One is after his dramatic repudiation of the Temple as a "house of thieves" (11:17). There Jesus urges his disciples to envision a different world in which the exploitative Temple State is overthrown and replaced by the community practice of reconciliation (11:24). The other instance occurs just before Jesus is about to be seized by the same State's security forces, where he summons his followers to prayers as a way of "staying awake" (14:32-42). Markan prayer, then is clearly more than a private exercise in piety or meditation. It seems to be a way of engaging the Powers in the apocalyptic struggle over history; that is why it is the site of tested loyalty, from the wilderness to Gethsemane (Meyers: Who Will Roll Away the Stone? Orbis 1994)".

We go to court to speak truth to power. To expose that our accusers don't believe in their own law - they won't address the high crime of armed robbery by Petroz and the Australian and Indonesian governments, they won't recognise UN decrees or international law, they won't recognise a necessity defence or the scripture that decorates their court. We announce that we don't believe in their law based on the sanctity of property - not life, the history of genocide and its connection with the institutional violence and vengeance of the prison system.

We will go to jail in solidarity with those imprisoned in Timor and those first world resisters doing time. We go to jail to learn more about our own society from those at the bottom of the Australian heap - the indigenous and disenfranchised.

Radical Christianity remains a strong tendency in anarchist movements - strong intellectually, in its militancy and experiments with alternative communities and institutions. It is up to other parts of the anarchist movement to choose to cling to retarded caricatures of Christianity (very similar to ones held by Church bureaucrats) or to enter into a relationship of mutual respect and solidarity.

Since the recent anniversary of the Dili Massacre, Petroz has closed access to the 23rd floor of the Colonial Mutual Building, the Indonesian and Australian navies have commenced joint patrols of the Timor Sea and hundreds more Timorese have been detained.

Ciaron O'Reilly

On 3 January, 1995, in the Magistrates Court Brisbane, Ciaron O'Reilly was described as a first offender by the police prosecutor (three pages are missing somewhere in the police department) and was fined $130.00. He will spend five (5) days in jail rather than pay the state. Jim Dowling successfully won the right to stand trial by jury in the District Court Brisbane.

**"officers, officers
i'm so glad you're here
there's been an armed robbery."**

ZAPATISTAS ON THE MOVE

On Monday the 19th of December the Zapatista National Army (EZLN) made its first major movement in almost a year. Masked Indian peasants, some in brown rebel fatigues, felled trees across highways and barricaded towns and villages in southern Chiapas state, where guerillas have threatened to renew their insurgency following a disputed election.

The peasant action coincided with an announcement by the rebel leader that thousands of Indian rebel troops had left their mountain stronghold and moved into 38 towns across the southern state. He did not say whether an offensive was planned.

The rebel leader (sic) who goes by the nom de guerre of Subcomandate Marcos, announced the troop movement at a jungle news conference on Monday, just days after he declared an 11 month old truce with the government null and void.

There was no immediate indication of fighting on Monday. But there were numerous reports that Indian peasants, many carrying rifles and wearing the rebels trademark brown fatigues, bandannas and ski masks, had set up blockades on highways in outlying communities.

Authorities said more than 600 Indian peasants, none of them rebels,had taken part in the peaceful highway blockades.

"In this free and rebel territory, we prohibit the entrance of military personnel, of public security, judicial police...or any person from the government," read a banner across one road leading from San Cristobel de laas Casas, the city the rebels seized at the start of their armed rebellion.

Three huge banners on the highway to the state capital, Tuxtla Gutierrez, proclaimed: "Welcome to Zapatista territory."

Marcos told reporters that "thousands" of rebels had slipped out of the Chiapas jungle between December 11 and December 14, entering communities that support the Zapatistas.

Marcos said the rebels were fortifying the communities for possible attacks by Mexican army troops. He said he decided to take action because of the 40,000 soldiers surrounding the rebels in their mountain stronghold bordering Guatemala appeared ready to attack.

He rejected as "insufficient" a proposal by President Ernesto Zedillo to create a seven member, multi-party peace commission to meet with the rebels.

Recent reports indicate that the Mexican army have pushed the Zapatistas out of the towns and villages, and back into their stronghold in the Lacandan Forest, though details have not been available.

A demonstration was held at the Mexican Consulate in San Francisco on December 21st, demanding safety for the Zapatistas and that a telex be sent to the Mexican government informing them of the demonstration, which was done.

All of the above information was obtained from the Anarchy-list, via the Byteback bulletin board (07 217 2018)

Terry Oofuss

There is an EZLN support group set up in Spain. They have postcards, photos, texts, a video and a book "Zapata Vive" available. All of the money raised by them is forwarded to contacts in Chiapas. Their address is:-

CSRZ, El Local Carrer La Cera 1 Bis, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.

Freedom International Section are also a source of information on the Zapatistas. Their address is:-

84B Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX Great Britain.

AN OPEN LETTER TO SYDNEY ANARCHISTS AND LIKE MINDED PEOPLE

Well this letter may not go down very well with some anarchists, as one of the trends amongst anarchists in Sydney is to emphasise the new; along with the progress we're making, while at the same time ignoring the many problems we also have that need confronting. I am not trying to point my finger at any one individual or group through this article, rather I am aiming to make some general criticisms which I believe all anarchists should take a look at and think about.

There is little or no push within the anarchist movement towards recruiting new people. Consequently, outsiders see little encouragement to become involved. If new people don't get involved we will become obsolete. We also become irrelevant to any up and coming radicals and revolutionaries. I believe that part of the problem here is that many anarchists have an anti-lefty mentality which, for some reasons, means that they must act in completely the opposite way and rely on people just dropping by out of interest. Recruiting needn't be high pressure tactics but can simply be a conscious act of "spreading the word" with a view to encouraging people who are not involved to become involved in anarchist action and organisation.

Another idea is that which many anarchists hold: that change will come from anarchists and anarchist groups. I believe this to be a big mistake as change has always come from the mass of people: the working class and their middle class allies. In any movement for social change those anarchists that are activist-oriented will make up a militant section of that movement. So let's not kid ourselves, we can't change jack shit on our own, isolated from the community at large. We must reach out to others - always - because we have as much to learn from the working class as they have from us.

And again: that somehow our counter-culture will permeate society in large sections and she'll be right mate. I see a counter-culture as having a vital role in establishing rebellious elements and ultimately autonomous zones in the wider community. It's important here to realise that a counter-culture cannot sustain itself, it must be sustained by those who want and need it. However, if building a counter-culture is nothing more than life-styling, that is politics without activism, it's destined to become next years fashion and ought to be dead and buried.

To bring people over to revolutionary ides, basic propaganda work needs to be done. This means dirty work like paste-ups for example. If you're serious about our movement and want to see numbers grow, you'll have to take on the not so nice jobs as well as the nicer ones. Our ideas and methods of action are not on display for the wider community to scrutinise, and need to be if we really want to share our views, hopes, dreams, fun, work and whatever else may spring to mind. Few people come looking for revolutionary ideas - you have to take revolutionary ideas to them.

More discussion and debate between ourselves on what we think and why we think it will push us to a better understanding of why we do what we do. Cutting across the borders that the Black Rose/ Jura split created, we have been able to come together to organise a particular event or action. But because we often haven't done any talking about what we think and why we think it, some of our actions have fallen apart at the seams. Take last year's squatting actions: we packed it in after two weeks. Our group fell apart for two reasons: a lack of commitment to a long term campaign and a lack of common thinking (theoretical unity).

Our movement lacks the funds to stand on its own two feet. The various projects being run by anarchists (with the exception of Jura Books) are poorly financed and this shows - in what we offer and what we produce. We need methods to finance our operations and this means new ideas and individuals with enthusiasm for carrying them out. There ARE more ways to make money than benefit gigs and donations. Not that these methods are useless but they do not completely fill their purpose. We are still short of hard cash.

We need more thought behind our actions and more open debate (formal or informal), not just blind actions.

Fuck dropping out, it's time to start dropping in.

Keith Agro

All of this is meant as a contribution to political thought and action amongst anarchists in Sydney. It is not meant as a denunciation, on the contrary, it's subjective analysis. In overall terms: I am part of what I criticise.

On the 18th and 19 th of January Join the Sisters of the Order of Perpetual Indulgence & WAAC (Women's Abortion Action Campaign) in welcoming the Pope in the appropriate fashion contact Sister Laura Theland OPI 02 399 8955

BOUGAINVILLE BALLOTS NOT BULLETS!

The Pan Bougainville Peace Conference held in October unfortunately failed to find a peaceful solution to the Bougainville Crisis. A ceasefire was signed on Bougainville in September and peace was hoped for. Concerns were voiced over ceasefire violations and the role of Australia. General Sam Kaouna, the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) commander, accused the PNG army of not maintaining static positions in violation of the Ceasefire conditions.

When I spoke to him by telephone from Honiara on the 29th of September, he said that the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG) and BRA leaders were concerned about their personal safety. Sam Kauona spoke about a Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF) plan to kill or seize key leaders. Ceasefire violations occurred at Koromira on the 22nd of September and a Bougainville civilian was seriously wounded near Arawa by PNG gunfire. He was accompanying the Commander of Central BRA and an Australian photo-journalist on their way to the peace talks.

The peace conference began on October 10th. In the end, the rebel leaders did not attend the peace conference. A proposal by the women of Bougainville, who are the traditional landowners in the central area of the island, tried to convince the rebels to attend. It faltered as well.

The South Pacific Peace Keeping Force was the largest deployment of Australian troops to Bougainville since World War Two. They arrived 8 days late and stayed less than two weeks, from October 9th until Wednesday, 19th October cutting their mission short. Sam Kauona complained about the Australian domination of the peacekeeping force, the force operating under PNG law rather than a UN mandate, its failure to keep PNGDF out of the neutral zones and the absence of any consultation with BIG/BRA over its role. He said that there were at least three meetings without BIG/BRA representatives present and that this was deliberate.

The United Nations were later asked to help the peace process by the BRA after the collapse of the talks. PNG Prime Minister Juiluis Chan condemned the BRA for writing to Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, and rejected the UN move.

The PNG government moved quickly to exploit divisions on Bougainville. The "Charter of Mirigini for a New Bougainville" was signed by a small group of PNG supporters who, according to BIG, have become increasingly isolated from other Bougainvillians.

A hit squad arrived in Solomon Islands in October including an Australian soldier in civilian clothes. We at first thought they going to Bougainville to kill leaders there. We soon found out otherwise.

On the 1st of November, Sir Julius Chan broadcast on PNG radio that all BRA and rebel leaders will be dealt with. He said also that the foreign supporters of the secessionists would also be dealt with severely. That night, rumours circulated that another hit team was in Honiara.

I was woken up at 2 am the next morning by a voice outside my window calling me. It was a fellow Bougainville supporter who had Moses Havini, the BIG International Political Representative, in tow. "What happened?" I said. Moses told me that he had just fled Honiara in fear of his life. Apparently, the PNG hit squad were after him and Martin Miriori, the BIG representative in Solomons. I let them in and we proceeded to publicise the story as widely as possible in order to scare off the death squads with the glare of the media. Another squad was to deal with the BRA on Bougainville.

It seems that Chan knew this was going to happen and made the announcement in order to be seen to be tough and aggressive. Fortunately, PACNEWS, the Pacific wire service, monitored the broadcast and it was picked up by Moses. He fled on the midnight flight to Brisbane and Martin hid. This probably saved their lives.

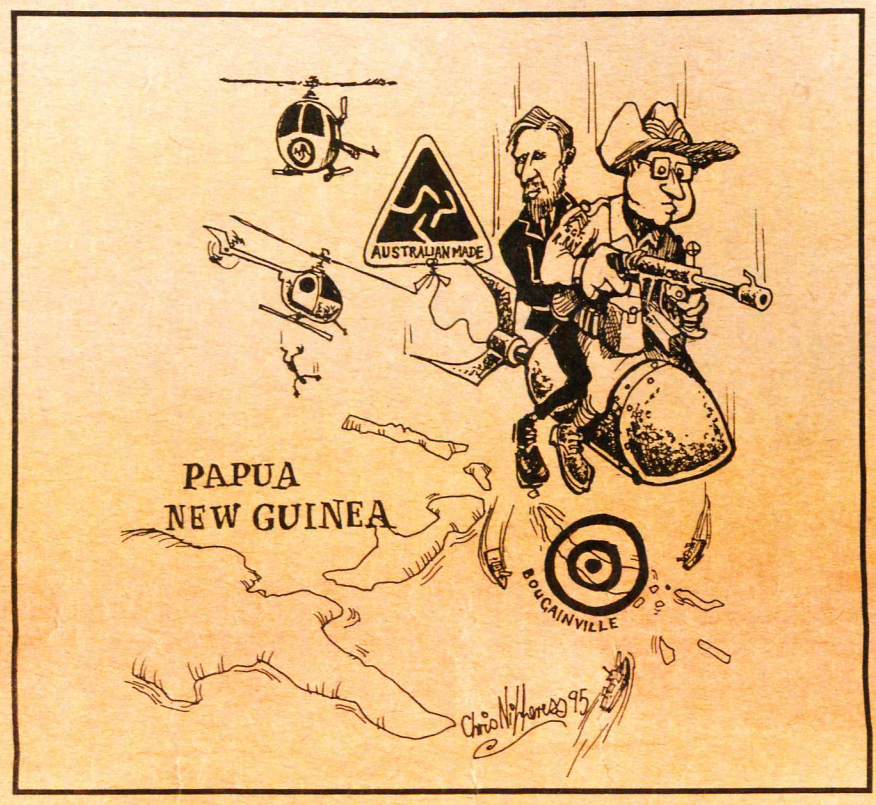
There was speculation about how the BRA will be captured in their Central Province stronghold with the vast network of BRA sympathisers in the area. The Bougainville Interim Government said spies and resistance force members supporting PNG who know the area were deployed to survey specific targets.

A PNG government official working on Bougainville said people were worried about the government's move, fearing it may harden the resolve of the BRA. "You can say you're going to get them (the leaders) but when you're on the ground it's different," he said. "I mean these guys are armed, really armed, and they've been operating like this for years, and no-one has got near them."

The first serious clash between the BRA and PNGDF occurred at Red River, Wakunai, 50 km north of Arawa on 12/11/94. In an ambush by BRA, 3 PNG soldiers and 1 BRA were killed.

By the 15/11/94 the BRA were tracking patrols of PNG army at Aropa and in the Bovo valley area just outside of Arawa. This last unit is a "commando" type platoon of PNGDF whose target is to move towards Panguna on a reconnaissance patrol towards the copper mine.

Meanwhile, the problem of how to get the BRA remained. The answer! Send in D Squadron, Australian Special Air Service Regiment and British special forces supported by a submarine and US spy satellite photographs of Central Bougainvilie. A submarine was sighted by BRA 79 nautical miles south of the Kieta harbour.



The SAS are experts at long range patrols and one of the best trained special forces in the world. The resistance force spies will guide the SAS close to the target after they have identified camps with satellite photos and local intelligence. The SAS then surround the camp and blast the shit out of them, making sure there are no survivors. However, SAS are also taking a risk against the well armed hardcore BRA with M16s, .22s and Bougainville made guns, and may be detected on the BRA home ground. The spies are vital here.

Many civilians have fled PNG areas in recent months after the failure of the peace talks (Maybe the Faces of PNG Committee couldn't supply them well enough - see last issue) and are living with the BRA in the jungles and mountains. There must surely be innocent civilians killed in this type of dirty operation. SAS are also involved in re-training the PNGDF, who are badly disorganised and poorly trained.

Since the 17/12/94 there have been clashes and movement around the Aropa valley, Kobuan and Kongara 1 and 2. Casualties were suffered. The buildup of PNG forces continued over the Christmas - New Year break in preparation for a New Year's offensive on Bougainville.

Lastly, it seems that even the Queensland government is getting into the act and supporting the war on Bougainville.

The Queensland Boating and Fisheries Patrol are now doing joint patrols with the PNGDF in Torres Strait. This has freed up PNGDF patrol boats to blockade Bougainville while the Queensland authorities help PNG enforce its territorial waters.

Commenting from Central Bougainville, General Sam Kauona said, "We have not changed our commitment to a peaceful solution without the means of "guns and bullets", but if the combined forces of PNG, Australia and Britain insist on the "gun not the ballot"; then my forces will do what they are best at, and that is to defend our nation to the best of our ability".

Brendan Greenhill

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